1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

852
One of the relatives goes to the man who knows the ceremony. He says, 756
"We have been unable to bring up our children. We need you to help us."

My relative sits there. He just makes some kind of sound in his throat first. Then he says, "Well, I'll do it. But I need a buckskin with a piece of turquoise [801] tied at the middle of the head and a yellow horse. Give two other things, anything you wish, just so it makes four, a set of four."

They get these things together and bring them to him, and the ceremony takes place.

Once he has accepted the task, the shaman busies himself with 322
the construction of the cradle. With prayers and ritual, oak, ash, 854
or walnut is gathered for the ovate frame, and sotol or yucca 824
stalk for the cross-pieces that will form the back of the cradle.

For the back part of the cradleboard, the cross-pieces are of sotol if the cradle [852] is for a boy, and of narrow-leafed yucca if it is for a girl. The sotol, which [756] is jagged edged along the leaf, is called the boy, the "he"; the yucca is called the girl, the "she." These plants are brother and sister, we say.

This sex distinction, however, is not acceptable to all.

A canopy to shield the child's face is made of the stems of red-barked dogwood, mock orange, or Apache plume. A piece of ash connects the frame and the canopy, and ash or oak is used for the footrest. The bedding is of wild mustard, and a pillow of *Solanium trifolium* prevents excessive movement of the head. The buckskin covering for the frame is usually colored with yel- [386] low ocher. In the buckskin which covers the top of the canopy, [531] symbols are cut which sometimes have sex value. The girl's cradle is usually decorated with a full moon or half-moon; the boy's cradle, with a cross or four parallel slits.

Some feel that cradleboard materials may be prepared in ad- 852
vance but that, once actual construction has started, the work 756
should be finished the same day. Others permit the outer frame 322
to be made on one day and the cross-pieces and canopy on another. Still others have no strong conviction about the length of time to be allotted to the process as long as the cradle is ready [782] when it is needed. It is assumed that all steps in the construction [854] have been accompanied by prayers for the welfare and long life of the infant. The shaman ties protective amulets on the cradle— [789] bags of pollen, turquoise beads, and pieces of lightning-riven wood.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

852 There is a ceremony held over a child when it just begins to walk. . . . . Men and women who know how may carry on this ceremony for the child. They get [787] the power through Child of the Water [the culture hero].[4] It is done to keep the [776] child healthy and strong, and because Child of the Water, when he started to walk, had a ceremony like this one.

[574] The family . . . . has to have a lot of meat and fruit ready. A feast is announced just like the one held at the girl's puberty rite. Many are invited. When a boy goes through this ceremony, they call him Child of the Water. When a [776] girl goes through it, they call her White Painted Woman [the mother of the culture hero]. Every child should go through it.

When my son first began to walk, he had a good ceremony. T. and Old Man D. carried it out. They had power from Child of the Water.

[292] D. directed my wife in the making of the buckskin outfit. It has to be made [531] from the skin of a black-tailed buck for a boy. In D.'s ceremony just a shirt and moccasins are made for the boy. For a girl the outfit has to be made from the skin of a black-tailed doe. Crescents and stars and crosses were the designs. The same designs are used on the girl's clothes when the ceremony is for a girl.

[821] They wait for the new or the full moon before beginning this ceremony. This time they waited for the new moon. They start just as early as they can. [431] Early in the morning many came to the place where I lived. We had plenty there for them to eat. We had presents for everyone, too—fruit and tobacco and other things. J. B. helped me with this because he wanted the ceremony held. He is a relative on my wife's side. My father-in-law brought some of these things too, and his sisters helped also. My wife's sisters helped with the cooking.

[526] They had a big hoop-and-pole game[5] going there too. P. and others who knew the ceremony well were off playing this game while they waited for the feast that was to follow.

[788] After some prayers T. marked everyone with pollen. He put some on the head and above the nose of both men and women, the way they do at the girl's puberty rite. This was done just before sunup. At sunrise he took the boy and lifted him toward the east, raising him four times. He did the same to the south and the west and the north. Then he set him down.

852 With pollen he made footprints on a piece of white buckskin just as White 788 Painted Women made them in the story of the killing of the monsters. We took the boy. I was holding him on one side, and T. was on the other. We led him 801 through these footprints. T. said a prayer about Child of the Water and his first [773] step just as the boy took the first step. He said another prayer for the second step and went on until four prayers and four steps were over. Then the boy took four steps by himself. As he did so, they said, "May he have good fortune." Now we turned the boy clockwise and brought him back, and he walked the four steps in the same way again. Four times we walked him like this. Then we

[4] Actually the rite can be obtained through other sources as well.

[5] For a description of the game see pp. 448–50.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

In addition to decorative face-painting, there is a great deal of painting for ritual reasons. The coloring of the patient's face by the shaman (often with sacred substances such as pollen, specular iron ore, or white clay) is one of the important elements of the ceremonial pattern. Thus the child becomes used to seeing individuals whose faces are marked with lines of white clay or whose cheeks are decorated with symbols of the sun, moon, stars, or various constellations.

The men tattoo themselves but limit the area to the inner part of the arms "because there is more flesh there and it is more tender." The colors used are red and blue-black. The red is obtained from red ocher or the juice of ripe prickly pears; the black, from charcoal. The material is laid on the skin, moistened, and punched in with a cactus thorn. Typical designs are stars, constellations, and zigzag lines symbolizing lightning. Sometimes these relate to the shamanistic rites of the individual. For instance, one man who claims power from lightning has tattooed markings representative of his tutelary. But most tattooing is merely decorative. In time the designs lose their sharpness and after many years can scarcely be distinguished.

The men have earrings, necklaces, bracelets, bandoleers, and pendants. Turquoise and white shell beads are worn. "The 'ancient people' [prehistoric Pueblo inhabitants] gave us the turquoise. These people were careless with the stones, and the Chiricahua pick them up." Beads are also made from the segments of a long root (*Hilaria cenchroides?*) and from the seeds of the mountain laurel. Many of these ornaments are primarily of religious and protective value.

Abalone shell, too, is used in ritual contexts and is frequently worn. "People cut out a piece, drill a hole through it, and wear it. Often they are directed to do this by a shaman after he has cured them. The shaman himself might give the abalone to the patient. A piece of it is often fastened right to the hair."

A sachet of mint may be worn, particularly by young men who wish to make themselves attractive to the girls.

The woman wears a two-piece dress of buckskin—an upper garment and a medium-length skirt. High-topped moccasins

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

291 (women never wear the low-cut type) complete the costume. These moccasins often have the upturned toe.

302 Young women, and many middle-aged women too, part the hair, draw it together at the back, wrap it up in a knot at the nape, tie it, and cover it with an hour-glass-shaped hide form. Older women tend to wear their hair hanging loosely; "but, if it is in their way, they fix it up too." As a woman advances in age, she devotes less attention to hair-grooming, though there is great individual variation in the time at which these changes take place. Though some rather young women have the hair loose, a really old woman is never seen wearing the hair form.

Face-painting of women follows the conventions noted for men. Women tattoo also. In addition to tattoo markings on the 304 arms, they place a dot on either cheek and often a figure, such as [531] a circle or a wavy or serrated line, on the forehead. One in- [178] formant insisted that the facial tattooing of the women is an innovation.

301 Women, like men, make lavish use of pendants and ornaments 789 of stone, shell, and other materials; and many of these objects, too, are really amulets.

291 Very young children, particularly when the weather is mild, are burdened with little or no clothing. They play around the 855 camps happy and unkempt. "It seems as though washing their [857] hands and washing themselves is foreign to them." When clothes [515] are made for them, the garments are modeled after those worn by adults. Sometimes a child's hair is gathered at the sides and 302 'tied in two bundles." But most often, until the girl assumes the 855 hair form and the boy the headband, the hair is left to hang 824 loosely. For protection from the sun, both young people and [751] adults wear wreaths of fresh willow.

342 The home in which the family lives is made by the women and [462] is ordinarily a circular, dome-shaped brush dwelling, with the floor at ground level. It is seven feet high at the center and ap- [824] proximately eight feet in diameter. To build it, long fresh poles [412] of oak or willow are driven into the ground or placed in holes made with a digging-stick. These poles, which form the frame- [283] work, are arranged at one-foot intervals and are bound together

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing p. 97]

PLATE IV

881
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292
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United States National Museum

GIRL DRESSED FOR PUBERTY RITE

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

881 535 *The masked dancers.*—As the sun starts to go down, the painting and the dressing of the masked dancers begin. The men who have agreed to dance make their way to a brush shelter erected quite a distance from the ceremonial grounds, for it would be dangerous to the people, and especially to the women and children, to have them "made" in the vicinity of the camps. Since [776] the dancers are impersonating mountain-dwelling supernaturals, a place in the foothills surrounding the level dance ground is most likely to be chosen. There the masked-dancer shaman waits [754] with dancing costumes and paints. The shaman rarely paints [534] the dancers but directs his helpers and prays and sings, accompanying himself with a buckskin-covered pottery drum. Upon [531] this he draws figures, such as that of the sun, in pollen "to keep [789] his voice from becoming hoarse." [826]

535 The shaman may have some difficulty in assembling a dance group, for the supernatural impersonator must obey irksome restrictions:

> You shouldn't wash the paint off. It sweats off while you are dancing and when you put your shirt on. It is just clay and charcoal. Perhaps the second night there will be just a faint mark left from the paint of the night before. When the next paint goes on fresh, you can't tell that there was any paint on [821] there before. If you do have to get some off, you rub it but do not wash it off, for if you wash, it will cause a big rain to come.

535 784 753 Mistakes during the dance are most dangerous:

> Not many men want to dance; it can cause evil influence. They fear to get into this costume just as they fear a coyote. If the dancer makes a mistake and doesn't do things according to the ceremony, he will get sick. It is dangerous for one dancer to touch another who has been made by a different shaman. The power of one masked-dancer maker may be stronger than that of the other and cause some disaster to a dancer. It sometimes causes a spasm [paralysis] in the mouth, or trouble with the ear or eye, or a swollen face. Then the only way is to [756] go through a ceremony and have the masked dancers blow the sickness away.

The dancer must be quite as particular about other points. If he should place the mask over his head without the proper ritual gestures, he is likely to go mad. He must show proper reverence as well:

> One time I was dancing for D. Three of us were dancing—S., T., and I. It was S.'s first time. He was speaking in English, cursing while they were painting him. You know he is just like a mocking bird; he doesn't respect anything.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing p. 109]

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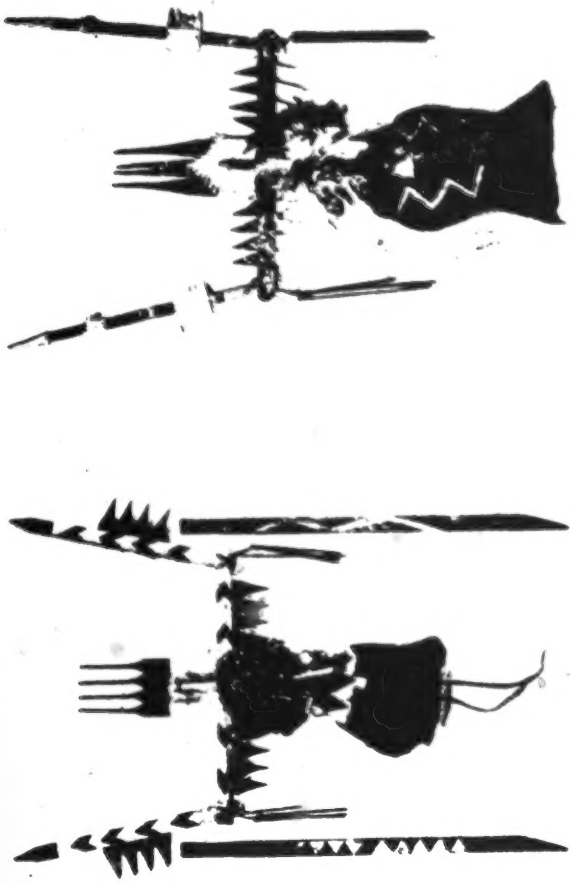

PLATE VI

United States National Museum

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

HEADDRESSES OF THE MASKED DANCER

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

one is present, spit into the masks four times, make three ritual feints toward themselves with the headdresses, and draw the masks over their heads the fourth time. Now they are ready to move in single file down the hillside, led by their most experienced dancer.

As they depart, they present a colorful spectacle. They wear high moccasins (with upturned toe) and buckskin skirts. These are colored yellow. The skirt is held in place by a broad belt; and from the skirt are suspended pendants of various kinds.[7] The arms and upper part of the body, with the exception of the face, are entirely covered with paint. Black, white, and yellow are most used; blue appears occasionally. The motifs most frequently employed are narrow bands of contrasting color, a branching design to stand for cactus, a saw-toothed element, a stepped line, a zigzag line, the triangle, the Greek cross, a pattée type cross, and a four-pointed star. These designs may remain the same all four nights, the same design may be used the first and third nights and another the second and fourth nights, or different designs may be painted each evening. Occasionally, the painted designs on the leader vary slightly from those of the others. The dancers carry painted wooden sticks in each hand; one or both of those carried by the leader may have a cross-piece at the handle. Long, narrow, buckskin streamers with eagle feathers attached are tied just above the elbows.

The mask is a buckskin hood which fits snugly over the head and is gathered at the neck by a drawstring. Two tiny holes for the eyes, and one sometimes cut at the mouth, are the only openings. These hoods are usually painted black but are also seen in yellow, in blue, or in two tones. When they are not a solid color, they may show such design elements as have been mentioned for the body. On the mask, at the forehead or nose

[7] Today, small cone-shaped jingles of tin have taken the place of these on the dance kilts, the dress made for the pubescent girl, and on other objects (awl cases, buckskin bags, burden baskets, etc.). To make these tin jingles, the metal is cut to proper size, placed over a depression in a board, and smartly struck at the median point. This curls the two sides, and it is then an easy matter to press them together with the fingers to form the cone, which is attached to the garment on a length of fringe.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing p. 266]

PLATE X

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Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

AMULETS

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

not get a man well, I know that the man is mistaken about his trouble. If I get a person well, I usually get other payment besides the ceremonial gifts. For the ceremonial gifts I must receive a horse, a piece of turquoise with an eagle feather stuck through a hole in it, and an unblemished buckskin, these four things. They must be given before the ceremony starts. I have the feathers on my hat and the turquoise I wear through the ceremony.

The ceremony can take place in the day or the night, but it has to be continued for four days or four nights. If a person got struck or frightened by lightning in the afternoon, the ceremony would begin in the afternoon. I try to begin it at about the same time of day or night that the experience with lightning occurred.

First of all in my ceremony I smoke. I blow the smoke to the four directions, calling each by its color name. Then I call on Thunder and say, "Before you did this to him, this man's body and spirit were in a healthy condition. Now he is sick. I plead with you to breathe some of your spirit into this man, to make him over as he should be."

I have to have medicine for the sick person too. To make this medicine I take wood from a tree which has been struck by lightning, burn it, take the ashes, and put them in cool water. Scrapings from abalone shell are put with it too. With the ashes I make a lightning design (a zigzag) on the four sides of the cup. And I make the lightning design on the man's face, running it into the mouth. I pray, and while I pray I raise the cup upward four times, then toward the patient three times, and make the patient drink on the fourth.

Then I begin with the songs. This is my first song:

He in the sky who is holy,
He who is Black Thunder
Who put up the earth,
He zigzags down with life
To impart life to her body;
He in the sky who is holy,
Black Thunder, my father.

This same song is sung to the other directions; the color terms alone change. At the end of the second song I push the chest, back, and sides of the patient with my hand four times and then blow the evil influence away. While I am singing, I am asking help of my power.

After the four songs I pray again. This last part changes to suit the occasion. Then the ceremony for this one day or night is finished. This power of mine comes from Thunder. Thunder power carries you to old age.

I have a hat that goes with this ceremony. I was ordered by a dream to make the hat. I do not use the hat in the ceremony or use it at all. I was told in my dream that the hat would just be for luck in the ceremony. But the hat belongs to Lightning; it belongs to this ceremony. It is copied after the old way.

I lost this hat one time. Later I was walking with four men. We were hunting

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870). NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[facing p. 311]

PLATE XI

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United States National Museum

Denver Art Museum

CEREMONIAL HATS FOR PROTECTION IN WAR

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

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happens to your gun when you try to shoot at such a fellow. Your gun jams, for instance. The one who knows this ceremony can fix it for someone else so that, when he is shot at, he will be missed.

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The shield is always ceremonial and belongs to this kind of power. When you see a man with a shield, you know it was made for him by a ceremonial man in connection with a war ceremony. It's not like a bow or a sling. It's not just a weapon. Anyone couldn't have this. The shield is called "that which I hold up" in a ceremonial way. It is the same with the lance. You could only get it from a man who had the right to make it. It is not just a weapon.

[411]

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I think I'm going to learn the gun ceremony from an old man now. I got him when he was a little full and asked him if he knew anything he would show me. He said, "Yes, I know Gun." He told me it would be easy for me to learn, that it was mostly some prayers and songs. He showed me some of it right there. In these songs and prayers the parts of the gun are given certain names. The wooden stock is called the earth. The metal barrel is called the moon. The little screws that hold it together are called whirlwind. This is true of all gun ceremonies. I'm going to see him again and learn more about it.

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The preparation of shields and designed garments to be given to the client as protective amulets receives constant mention:

In connection with the gun ceremony there were circular buckskin head coverings. These were carried but not worn often. Actually, a man wore a strip of buckskin or cloth or a handkerchief around his head in war. Just the war shaman and those to whom he gave them had the hats. Most of the time the hat was just rolled up and tied to the quiver.

The shamans of the war ceremony made hats. These went with the shields; they were made by the same men. These hats were of buckskin. Some were round and decorated all around the rim. Some were colored black and white and were designed with serrated figures, four-pointed stars, and lightning symbols. Sometimes a jacket was given to the person to wear.

[531]

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[793]

A protective ritual formula, allegedly first executed by Child of the Water before his conflict with the giant, was described by an informant who is reputed to know the gun ceremony:

Spit on the palm of the left hand. Dip the first finger of the right hand in the saliva and make a cross with it on the left foot, thigh, forearm, and cheek. As the crosses are made, call upon the four Thunders: Black Thunder, Blue Thunder, Yellow Thunder, and White Thunder.

Then recite the following prayer, "Black flint is over your body four times. Take your black weapon to the center of the sky. Let his weapons disappear from the earth." This prayer, with only the colors changed, is repeated four times. Then rub the first finger of the right hand horizontally across the lips four times.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

726 411

formula occur. One calls for the addition of poisonous insects to putrifying liver; another is a mixture of deer stomach, blood, and thorny plants pounded together and allowed to spoil. Of the action of such poison, an informant declared, "A man hit with an arrow dipped in this turns black."

The bow and arrows are fitted handily into a well-made bow cover and quiver:

When the Chiricahua are on the march and are not using their arrows, they carry them so that the feathers come over the top of the right shoulder. When they are fighting, they reverse the bag so that the feathers come under the left armpit, and they can be snatched out of the quiver with the right hand. For a left-handed person it is just the opposite. Sometimes the quiver is carried over the chest so it will be more handy.

726 714

Few men carry shields, for their manufacture is associated with the ceremony obtained from weapons:

They wear the shield on the left arm (if right-handed). It is held over the arm by one or two straps, whatever is convenient. There is no buckskin cover for the Chiricahua shield. If I wanted to make one, I'd have to make it plain. To get it designed properly I have to go to a man who knows how and I have to pay him. A thing like this is made by a shaman, and you have to pay for it no matter how little it is. The man I go to uses his ceremony for my protection and puts on his design. Most shields have just a few feathers in the center and are of painted cowhide. There is buckskin around the edge only. They are very plain.

[756] [789] [531]

726 416 [756] [778] [177] [554]

Spears, too, are most often made and decorated, either for themselves or for others, by shamans with "power of weapons." Before European contact, spears were essentially lengths of sharpened wood. Later, knives and bayonets were attached to the ends. Because the use of the spear brings the warrior within a few steps of his foe, fighting with this weapon is the kind of action expected of war leaders or those who aspire to that status. The spear rose in favor during the time of strife with the Mexicans:

726 411 648

I remember back to the time when the Mexicans and other enemies used guns that I guess they call breechloaders.[7] The Chiricahua were using arrows, war clubs, and spears then. The spear was used when the enemy was taking time to load his gun. The Mexican used to have that big gun. He would shoot once, and the Indian who was a good runner charged him and pushed the spear in him. The Mexican didn't have time to reload.

[7] Probably the informant is thinking of a muzzle-loader.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

over, or it will be too thick. Then she pounds it more where she is going to fold it.

She cuts it the size and shape she wants, so that when she folds it over it will come out even. It is made by folding the cowhide over. You fold it over once, and then again, and then from the ends. The end pieces go on top usually. Some fold the ends in first and then fold the sides. There is no one way of doing it. Next the woman cuts out a cowhide rope and ties it, first the long way and then the short way. That's all there is to it.

You can store things away in it and keep it in a cave, or you can carry it on your pack horse. Bushes and rocks won't hurt it. Rain won't hurt it, because it is made out of cowhide. I've seen some with fur on and some without fur. The Central Chiricahua never put designs on the parfleches. They have them all sizes. I never saw any that were not made of cowhide and never heard of any that were made of anything else.

The Eastern Chiricahua lavish more care upon the manufacture of the parfleche. Two side pieces are made to fit over the bottom, and then the two end pieces are brought over and laced. All the fur is taken off, and designs, "as on the bow," are painted on the outer surface. One informant stated that men cannot be present when a woman is working on a parfleche, an interesting example of the strong feeling for the sexual division of labor.

This feeling extends into the artistic field, and the character of the decoration on painted or incised objects is determined by the sex of the worker. "Men draw things, such as animals, people, and freehand figures. Women do not. I would feel that it was out of place for a woman to do this. She doesn't even paint a star. She would just make certain patterns [conventional designs]. She can do this at any time."

Other hide objects besides parfleches are made by the woman. Awl cases and pollen bags are fashioned from buckskin. Bags to hold piñon nuts and acorns are made of badger skins. These are hung in the home, as much for their beauty as for their utility. The woman also cuts plate-shaped pieces of rawhide to be used "like the shallow woven bowl." In addition, she prepares "a container of rawhide, having the shape of a burden basket, but only half as large" to be used as a water carrier.

The quiver and the bow cover are so intimately associated with masculine activities that it is considered essential for a man to have some part in making them. The woman prepares the

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua
[Facing P. 381]

PLATE XII

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531

United States National Museum

a MOCCASINS

United States National Museum

b BURDEN BASKET

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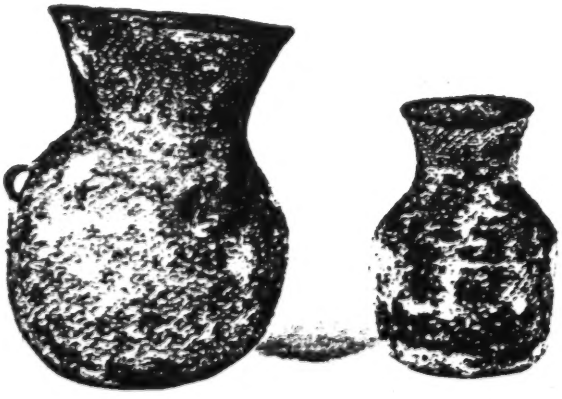

Claremont College Museum; Thomas Wyle, photographer

c WATER JARS

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

turn the leaves yellow. Then cut what you want. When you want the leaves green, cut those on the outside fresh and use them just as they are. The inner leaves of the yucca plant, the ones near the stem, are white, and they can be used to give still another color. 285 824

The ruddy tendrils found at the roots of the narrow-leafed yucca are worked into baskets for contrast and design. The outer covering of the seed pod of the unicorn plant provides a black substance. The sewing materials for the ceremonial tray basket used in the girl's puberty rite come from these pods. [386]

Tray baskets act as containers for dry foods and "for any little thing, like nuts." They are used in parching seeds, in winnowing, and in a variety of other ways. 285

The large burden basket is twined, and the withes employed are from the sumac or mulberry. The designs are seldom more than bands of color woven with strands that have been soaked in dyes similar to those used to color buckskin. Often the bottom is covered with buckskin or rawhide from which fringe and pendants hang. [824] [386] [531]

The water jar is in reality a pitch-covered basket. It also is made by the twined technique and is usually of sumac, or less frequently of mulberry. A hide or wooden handle is affixed to each side. Jars for tiswin are usually larger than those for carrying or holding water: 314 285

In the making of the water jar, the woman does it all from the beginning. She makes a woven basket. Then she gathers pitch. The only pitch used is that from the piñon tree. If it is in a hard lump on the trunk, she breaks it off; if it is sticky, she uses a piece of wood. She places it in a basket and brings it home, first laying some kind of grass or leaves in the basket so that the pitch won't stick to it. She puts the pitch in a pot and heats it until it gets soft.

When the pitch is soft enough, she pours or transfers it to the inside of the water jar she is making. She has a heated stone in there too and moves the basket around, so that the pitch spreads evenly. While she is putting on the pitch, she doesn't allow any other person near the fire. She must be there by herself. But, when she is weaving the basket, others can be around.

Sometimes she puts pitch on the outside, sometimes not. To put pitch on the outside, she has a stick with a piece of buckskin on. She dips this into the hot pitch and rubs it on. Then she lets it cool for a while; but, when it is still a little warm, she dips her hand into water and smoothes the jar to make it look nice. Sometimes before putting the pitch on the outside, she rubs the surface with red ocher. It looks pretty then, because the red shows through the pitch. A woman [386]

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

the shape of a pot. When the pot was built up, they usually smoothed it, inside and out, by rubbing water over the surfaces. 323

For the baking, oak was burned to red-hot coals, a pit was dug in these coals, and the pot was placed in the pit and covered completely with coals. It was left so overnight. In the morning the pot would be brittle and would make a sound when tapped.

Over such a pot buckskin would be stretched and tied with sinews for a drum. [534] Such pots were also used to boil things in. The pots were never decorated. When [531] people haven't anything of importance to do, pots are decorated. Very often, however, the coil marks were left on the outside.

Another account indicates that some women, at least, decorated their handiwork:

Women make the pots. The pots are used for cooking and also for pottery drums. A special one is made for a drum, but its general shape is like that of the cooking pot.

This is the way a woman makes a pot. First she gets clay and sifts it until it is fine. Then she mixes it with water. She works it to the right consistency. Next she rolls some between her fingers and makes a coil. For the bottom she smooths off a flat piece of clay with a rock. She builds the pot up from this with the coils. She works on a level place on the ground. She takes a smooth stick or stone and smooths off the inside and outside as she works. She adds water to the clay when she needs it to make it softer.

Then she builds a fire. Any kind of wood is used for the fire. She places the pot in the fire and keeps turning it. When it gets red in the fire, when it is dried out, she takes it off, for it is ready then. Pots as big as two feet high and over one foot in diameter were made.

Some have designs on them. This is done with a stick when the pots are still [531] wet [incising]. Some that I saw had three bands of wavy lines marked along their sides.

Nothing is added to the clay, but to give it a shine the juice of the prickly-pear cactus leaf or that of some gummy and prickly plant is squeezed into water and applied to the pot before it is fired.

The women made pots, drums, cups, and plates of clay. Cups, too, were built up with the coil. They had these cups when I was little and before. The Chiricahua had pottery from the time when animals were people. They got it from [703] Coyote.[14]

Some women were recognized as the best pottery-makers and were expected [463] to supply pots for others. They traded them for buckskin, meat, and other [438]

[14] No Chiricahua Coyote tale was recorded that would justify this statement. However Coyote is credited with obtaining fire, bow wood, and arrow wood for the people, and, by extension, the origin of pottery may be attributed to his efforts.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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323 things. They agreed on some reasonable settlement. Some unmarried women [463] got along this way. Men did not assist in pottery-making. [488]

According to another recital, a vegetal binder was actually mixed with the clay in some instances:

Get red or dark clay and grind it on a metate. See that no pebbles or sticks are in it. Then get a low-growing cactus plant. Split it and boil down some of it. Get the juice from it, mix it with the clay, and work it until it gets to the right consistency. Just work the bottom from a lump and then build the side out of coils. The inside is smoothed out with the hands. The outside is smoothed with the hands too but is finished with a bone. Handles are sometimes put on the sides.

[531] Pots are sometimes designed. They are not painted but are incised with the fingernail. One design is a series of circles connected by a line. Another is a band across the pot with vertical lines on it. Sometimes they put a saw-toothed design on. They also make a clay water jug with lines running around it.

When it is the right shape, they leave the pot in the sun to dry. Often this takes several days. They strike it with a stick to hear whether it makes the proper sound. Then they know it is ready to fire. They build a fire. When it has burned down some, they put logs over it. They put the pots on the logs and keep them there for about an hour and then turn them.

Different shapes are made. There is a tall cooking pot. After it is used for a while it turns black. You can boil things in it. It is never decorated at all. The shallow ones are used for drinking, and some shallow ones are made large enough for food containers or frying pans.

415 In addition to the vessels already described, the woman makes
412 dippers, spoons, and various receptacles of gourds, wood, and
824 leaves:

From Old Mexico we get gourds for carrying water. We use them as dishes too, and you can drink from them. But you can't use them for cooking. The little gourds from the United States are too small and are not strong enough for use.

The bole from the oak tree is hollowed out and used for a vessel or dipper. We use the growths from the walnut tree too, or from any tree that has them. I've seen my aunt use them many a time. For a spoon we make a hollow at the end of a stick. Broad yucca leaves are used for spoons too.

412 To grind seeds and to pulverize foods that are to be preserved, the woman uses a mano and metate:

[192] Not many women make grinding-stones. They find some which have been left by a people called "the ancient people." These were not Chiricahua, according to the story. They lived in Old Mexico in cliffs and stone houses. We also call them "those who live on top" and "[square] house people." These metates

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After the craftsman has cut a branch, split it, and shaped and smoothed the wood, he lets it season. When it is dried to his liking, he "greases the wood and pulls it in every way until it is slick and shiny." The wood is bent over the knee or over a tree and tied. Then it is put in hot ashes and watched so that it will not burn. After it cools it keeps its shape. The bow wood is kept tied and allowed to dry for over ten days after this treatment with heat. When the double-curved bow is made, the heated bow wood is bent between two young trees growing close together.

The outer surface is usually painted a solid color; on the inner surface the maker puts a design by which his handiwork is known —a star, a cross, serrated lines, parallel lines, or a naturalistic figure. This may refer to his supernatural power or may be simply a decoration or an identification mark. The dyes used are vegetable or mineral substances made permanent by mixture with juice squeezed from heated yucca leaves. Though the bow is never backed longitudinally with lengths of sinew, it is often wrapped with sinew. Usually, however, this is not applied until the bow has been weakened by use. Horse hair is used, but less frequently, as the reinforcing agent.

When the bow is to be sinew wrapped, animal hooves and horns are boiled for two days, and the glue thus obtained is rubbed on the wood at the places where the sinew will cover it. Then the moistened sinew is wound around the bow, usually at the middle and at places on each side equidistant from the center. Glue is rubbed on the outer surface of the wrapping too, and the bow is left to dry. Occasionally, piñon pitch is substituted for glue. "The pitch is put on the sinew warm, and the bow is worked and bent back and forth to spread the pitch and work it in."

Sinew from the loin or the leg of the deer is saved for the bow string. The man soaks the sinew in water, separates it into strands, and rolls three of them together on his leg to form a string. The warrior or raider will have an extra string with him in case the one on his bow should snap. One informant claimed that the tough fiber from the mescal leaf, rolled on the thigh and

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
(ca. 1870) NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
Chiricahua

411
[824] [283] carefully tied, makes a bow string that serves well in emergencies and is even regularly used by some.

To release the arrow, the archer holds the string between his thumb and first finger and assists with his second finger. When the bow is not in use, it is left unstrung. In the hands of a strong man this weapon is quite effective.

[My uncle] made powerful bows. At one hundred yards he could kill a deer instantly. At fifteen yards he could send an arrow through a deer.

A good shot would be one that would send the arrow about a hundred yards with accuracy. The bow worked as fast as the gun in the old days. Formerly, before someone could load the magazine of a gun, you could shoot three arrows from the bow.

[223] [224] [868] For hunting birds and killing pack rats, men fashion smaller bows of the same general construction. Boys who are learning how to use weapons are given these smaller bows.

In any important undertaking a man carries from thirty to forty arrows, and he likes to keep a reserve supply at home. Much time and care, therefore, go into their making and repair. An entire month may be spent on a full set of arrows. The arrows [824] are of two kinds: those of carrizo or reed into which a hardwood foreshaft is fitted and those with the entire shaft of hardwood. For the latter, Apache plume, mulberry, mountain mahogany, or *Fendlera rupicola* is chosen.

[322] When the man gathers arrow wood, he cuts it into appropriate lengths, peels off the bark, scrapes it, and allows it to dry from three to five days. The shaft is straightened between the teeth or [531] is pressed against a heated rock and then is decorated with bands or stripes of black, blue, or red paint. On the upper portion of the shaft, at about the middle of the area which will be covered by the feathers, a narrow band of green or red is often traced.

[237] Tail or wing feathers of the red-tailed hawk, the eagle, the buzzard, or the turkey are next affixed to the butt of the shaft. Turkey feathers, however, "can't stand rough treatment and are used mostly for the arrows used in practice or for boys' arrows." Each feather is split in half and trimmed, and the white substance is scraped from the quill. Three feathers are used, five- or six-inch lengths being arranged equidistant from each other and

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With a sharp stone, the arrow-maker scratches
41 three channels along the shaft in line with the feathers or makes a
[531] spiral groove upon it. Zigzag incisings, one on either side of the arrow, occasionally are etched instead "because the arrows of Child of the Water, when he fought the giant, were like that."

The respective merits of the two basic arrow types were discussed as follows:

Some arrows are made short, some are made a little heavy, and some are made light. My father says that in order to shoot a long way you should take a short arrow. For short distances he uses the long arrow with a shaft of carrizo. I think an arrow made with a wood shaft is better than a reed [carrizo] arrow. Of course, those reed arrows are good for shooting birds and for other light shooting.

If the shaft is of reed, the arrow has a hard wood point. In the old days they were tipped with any wood hard enough to go into the animal, but I never knew men to put on a stone arrowpoint. Instead they seasoned their arrows until they were very hard. Many times I have seen my father sitting over a charcoal fire heating the end of an arrow until it was just as hard as steel. He'd look at it and sharpen it. I have never seen them chip stones for arrows.

When the shaft is to be of reed:

The man goes to the streams and gets some reeds before they grow too tall. He cuts them green and fresh. They become hard as they dry. He straightens
[314] them between his teeth and lets them dry for about two weeks. Then he puts the
[237] hard foreshaft in, fastening it with piñon pitch and binding it with wet sinew. It gets tight when dry. About two inches or a little more of the foreshaft goes into the reed, and about the same amount is left sticking out.

The carrizo arrow is usually about thirty inches long; the type with the shaft entirely of hard wood is a few inches shorter. The length and stoutness of the bow are adapted to the size and strength of the man, and the arrow must be of the proper size so that "it is not too short when the string is pulled back."

In addition to the methods of straightening arrows which have been mentioned, the use of discarded potsherds for the purpose has been described: "Take a reed arrow and get it hot. Put grease on and rub it with a piece of discarded pottery which has been heated too. This straightens it. I used to do it in Arizona."

On the child's arrow or on the arrow used for hunting birds and small game, one long feather may be wound spirally around the shaft for a distance of approximately eight inches. Often such arrows are left without any feathers at all.

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Chiricahua

A man must not only be able to make arrows but to use them effectively. In times of peace he keeps in practice by frequent competitions with his fellows. "If a man is expert, he can shoot one arrow, then shoot two more into the air before the first one comes down." Significant personal differences are found in the ability to make and handle bows and arrows. Some men are acclaimed as experts; others are credited with fair performance; while still others are rated decidedly below average.

The quiver and the bow cover are usually made at the same time and of the same material; they are always attached and are both called by the same term, literally "arrow container." Mountain lion skin is the favorite material for the quiver because it is thought that "it makes a man lucky." The fur and the tail are left on, and the finished product is called "quiver with tail." Deer, antelope, otter, and wildcat pelts, with the fur either scraped off or left on, are also used for quivers. Recently hides of cattle and horses have been used, usually without the fur. One informant asserted that the skin of a fetal calf makes a good quiver.

The man cuts a wristguard out of rawhide for himself. This laces up the back of the left wrist and has a projecting piece which protects his hand against the impact of the bowstring.

For a spear a man selects a sotol stalk or a young spruce, scrapes and dries the wood, and sharpens and fire-hardens the tip. Such spears are about seven feet long. The shaft is usually painted in one or more colors, and two eagle feathers are attached near the point. After contact with Europeans, metal knives and bayonets were inserted to make a still more deadly weapon. In battle the spear is never hurled, and it is used by the warrior only when he is on foot.

The round hide shield is connected as much with ceremonialism as with actual defense. It, too, may be a recent acquisition:

Just those with power have them. The man with power prepares these hides himself. He uses the hide from the shoulder region of the animal. He makes it just big enough to protect his chest and face.

First he takes the hide off. Then he scrapes all the flesh from it. He does this with a knife, a steel knife. (They made this shield only from the time they had steel knives and not before.)

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714 281 steel knives and not before.) Then he rakes together sand and builds a fire on it. When the sand is thoroughly heated, he rakes the coals away and pegs the hide down over that place. Then he scrapes the fur from the outside and pegs it down again in another place that has been heated first. Now he takes it up and cuts the hide to the size he wants his shield to be. He makes two holes and ties on a handle big enough to grasp. Sometimes he has another handle so that his arm can be fitted in too. Some men design their shields with sun symbols or other things and paint them various colors. [531]

[531] [386] [126] Many shields are without buckskin covers and have the design painted on the rawhide. One of these which I collected is painted with yellow ocher and has a black morning-star design. More elaborate and Plains-like shields are not unknown, however.

[237] Some shields are covered tightly with buckskin; the designs are painted on the buckskin. The buckskin is sewed onto the hide. Holes are driven through the hide for the purpose of fastening the cover on. There are tail and inner wing feathers of the eagle around the edge, and there are two more eagle feathers in the center. The eagle feathers mean that the maker has power. Just a few men had shields.

To give a shield marked convexity, a wet hide is pressed into a shallow hole in the ground and left to dry there. Buffalo hide is said to have been the material liked best in former times, but the supply obtainable must have been very small. Almost all the shields which informants had made or had seen made were of cowhide.

411 The warrior may prepare another weapon, the war club. A round stone, the size of a man's fist, is covered with rawhide and connected by a short length of flexible rawhide to a wooden handle. The handle is often covered with buckskin. A loop is provided at the end of the handle for the hand. A horse tail or, after the introduction of cattle, a cow's tail is often attached to the end of the handle too. Such clubs, or "stone carriers," are sometimes painted red or black, especially along the handle. While they vary in length, the average specimen seems to be approximately twenty inches long from stone to handle end. [237] [531]

[172] Less frequently another type of war club, really a hand ax, is made. A grooved stone ax head (more often than not of ancient Pueblo manufacture) is inserted into a handle which has been split to receive it. Pitch has been applied to the inner surface of

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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Chiricahua
[facing p. 395]

PLATE XIV

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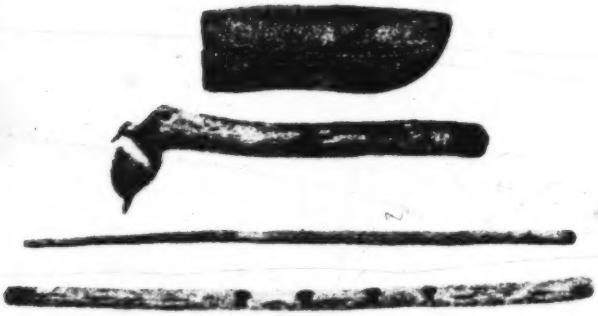

Museum of the American Indian, Heye Foundation

a) FIRE DRILL, HIDE-SCRAPER, AND KNIFE SHEATH

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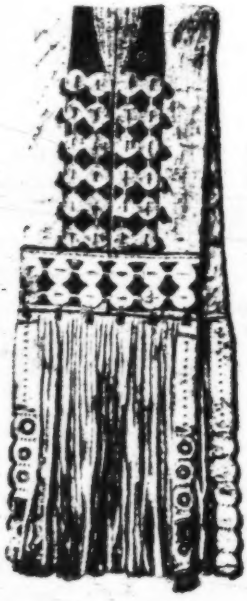

United States National Museum

b) SADDLE BAG

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Chiricahua

string, and the top of the body is perforated by a number of triangular or diamond-shaped sound holes, usually two opposite the peg and four or more at the other end of the instrument. The surface is ordinarily decorated with painted designs of tribal art pattern (stars, sun symbols, serrated lines, etc.), but, in addition, a scroll-like figure and floral motifs appear. Of the method of manufacture, this account is given:

I use any dead tree from which to make it. A good tree to use is the walnut. An older piece of wood makes a better tone. One end is usually a little wider than the other. The limb chosen should be a little longer than you want the fiddle to be. After cutting the limb off, I split it down the middle. Then I scrape out the inside of each piece with a knife. It is quite a job to scrape out these inside holes. Then I cut little holes [the sound holes] along the margin where the two pieces are going to meet on top. Now I scrape the outside and put on the decorations. There is no particular meaning to the designs I put on. Then I tie it together with deer sinew.

For the bow I use sumac wood. I warm the wood and bend it into place. I use horsehair from the tail for the bow. I used to make many of these for the soldiers. You play this as though you are using words and sing social dance songs as you play it. I used to go around here playing it and singing. I used to play songs in the store for the men on winter days not long ago when my voice was better.

Women are likely to be as engrossed in the stave game as men are in hoop-and-pole. Men occasionally join women to play it, but it is understood to be a woman's pastime.

This is really a woman's game as I understand it. I say this because it's a light game, a pastime for women. Women can't get out there and play with arrows like men. A few do, but not many. So the women play this while the men do other things.

Any man who plays this all the time is laughed at. But men play it once in a while, all right. I have seen men and women mix up and play it, play partners. Some fall in love this way. Mostly a bunch of women were playing it alone.

Not everybody can make the outfit. A person has to know how. There is power connected with it. A certain woman or man has to make the sticks and place the stones. Those who make them give these sticks to other people. The one who gives you the sticks tells you what to do so you'll have luck with this game. Some have songs they sing before a big betting game. When two sides are playing against each other, there is great excitement. Everyone wants to be the one to throw the sticks for his side. Valuable property (like mescal and horses) is bet. I never saw this played during the night, though I never heard that it couldn't be played then.

1:Opler E-5 (1931-1937)1941
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526 The equipment and method of play are described thus:

[531] Round sticks are split and three six- to eight-inch lengths, round on one side and flat on the other, are selected. They can be painted black on the flat side, or a black or red stripe is put on instead. The round side is painted yellow or white.

On the ground they put forty small stones. They put down ten stones, leave a space, put down ten more, leave a space, and so on until the forty are arranged in a circle. The four spaces are called rivers, and there is one for each of the four directions. In the middle of this circle is a big square rock, usually (but not always) colored black on top. Each player, or a representative for each side, has a small stick to lay between the stones as a marker.

The player throws the three sticks on end against the center rock so that they bounce off. This player then moves his marker stick according to the score he has made. If the three flat surfaces are down, it counts ten. If they are all up, he makes five. One flat up counts one or two, according to what has been decided,[10] and two flat up usually counts three.

The players start from the east. If just two are playing against each other, one moves around in one direction, and one in the other. This is done if many people are playing and betting, but there are just two sides. If four are playing partners and there are two on a side, two partners go around one way, and two the other. But if a number are playing for themselves, they all go around the same way, sunwise. The idea is to get your marker stick around the circle first.

A person who makes ten gets another turn. Whoever gets into the water (whose marker falls on one of the big spaces at the directions) has to go back to the beginning. Also, if your marker falls in the same space as that of someone who is playing against you (not your partner), you pull out his stick and throw it to the beginning, and that person has to begin over.

There is a game like this played with four staves. The fourth one is longer than the others. The scoring is different for this game.

[531] A third stave game, played without the circle of stones, was mentioned by one informant. Three staves, each uncolored on one side and painted white, black, and yellow, respectively, on the other, and one longer stave, black on both sides, are used. These are thrown on a rock four inches in radius. The object is to make the long black stave remain on the rock and to have the

[10] Many variations occur as a result of agreements before play starts. "Sometimes we play that a person has to go back to the beginning if he gets in the river, but we might agree not to do this. The way some play it, your partner, if he gets to the same place you are, throws you into the river ahead. And some make the rule that, if your opponent falls at the same place you are, if you are past the first river, you have to go back to the last river you passed, instead of to the beginning."

2: Castetter and Opler N, E-5 (1931-1934)1936
NT8 Eastern Apache NT8
CHIRICAHUA
MESCALERO

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101 From the point of view of the native the band was more important than the tribe. This is reflected in nomenclature. Neither the Chiricahua nor Mescalero have true native tribal names, but the bands are named. This undoubtedly derives from the fact that in aboriginal times, due to the scattered condition of the tribe and the large area which it controlled, an Apache's meaningful contacts were likely to be limited to members of his band. There were few occasions when tribal unity could be affirmed by a gathering of all tribesmen.

184 ## CULTURAL DIFFERENCES BETWEEN THE MESCALERO AND CHIRICAHUA

Besides the linguistic differences between the Mescalero and Chiricahua, and the relatively minor tribal distinctions in songs, rites, myths, and folk beliefs which might be expected, the most noticeable tribal variations existed in the realm of material culture. [224] The Mescalero made trips to the plains to hunt buffalo, and were to some degree dependent upon this animal for meat, skins, and sinew. The Chiricahua were too far west to benefit to any great extent by the presence of buffalo on the plains. [342] When living or hunting on the plains the Mescalero made use of the skin-covered tipi and transported the poles for it by horse in the form of a travois. [492] But only the Warm Springs, the most eastern band of the Chiricahua, made any use of the tipi or travois, and then infrequently. [415] The Mescalero shaped rawhide parfleches and painted them with Plains-like geometric designs. [531] The parfleches of the Chiricahua were undecorated.

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184 An orientation towards the Plains can be discerned in Mescalero dress and hairdress, too. The typical costume of the Mescalero man was buckskin shirt, loin-cloth, leggings, and hard-soled, low-cut moccasins. [177] His hair was braided and wrapped. [302] The Chiricahua man presented a markedly different appearance. He wore no leggings, his moccasins came high on his legs and showed a curious, disc-shaped, upward projection at the toe. [302] His hair hung loosely or was kept in place by a headband only.